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## ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION INTO THE PHILIPPINES

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The problems of immigration with which the United States has had to deal have not been confined, since 1899, to the Western Hemisphere alone. The importance of regulating immigration into the Philippines was early realized after their acquisition by this country. The questions to be met were in many ways more complex than those connected with immigration into the United States, owing, in part, to the proximity of the islands to the Asiatic mainland. The solutions possible were restricted within the limits determined by American law, peonage and serfdom in any form thus being impossible; and in addition the attitude of the Filipino peoples on the general question was, of necessity, a consideration of fundamental importance. Fortunately, in the latter case, there has been no great difference in sentiment between the governed race and its governors.

The majority of Oriental immigrants into the Philippines have been furnished by China and Japan. China alone contributes almost the entire body of immigrants that seek admission from Asiatic countries into the islands. Hence, as far as the Philippines are concerned, the question of Oriental immigration almost resolves itself into a discussion of the policy of Chinese exclusion which has been carried out by the United States' administration of the archipelago.<sup>1</sup> For this reason the chief attention in the following pages is given to the questions arising from the presence or exclusion of the Chinese immigrants.

No one can study the reports of the Schurman and subsequent Philippine commissions, or the Philippine census reports, and fail to be impressed with the wonderful resources of the Philippines. It was the expectation of the civilized world that following their acquisition by the United States a tremendous impetus would be

<sup>1</sup>Cf. "The Problem of the Chinese in the Philippines," in "The American Political Science Review," February, 1909.

given to the development of these resources. This expectation early gained ground in China, and the Chinese government was keenly alive to the opportunities which might thus be opened up to the activities of many of its citizens. Even before the action of the United States military in applying the exclusion laws of the United States to the Philippines, the State Department at Washington had been given to understand that China would protest against any such action.

The basis for exclusion in the Philippines must rest almost entirely on three propositions, viz., the right of the Filipino races to develop themselves and their own resources, racial and commercial, without the assistance or stimulating presence of the Chinese; a desire to prevent the growth of a racial question through the antagonism or unfortunate amalgamation of two different races such as the Malay and the Mongolian; and in the third place the desire of the United States to be able to sustain its own immigration and exclusion laws against possible migrations of Chinese from the Philippines to the States.

A study of the immigration statistics since 1898 shows that the greatest number of Chinese entering the islands was immediately following American occupation. This high tide continued until 1904, despite the exclusion restrictions, the excess of arrivals over departures up to 1904 being 8,562. In the same year the registration of the Chinese showed that there were approximately fifty thousand of them resident in the Philippines. This number has steadily increased since that time, though the gross number of Chinese immigrants has apparently been very largely decreased. Still the net gain the past four years has been 8,259. This probably does not allow for the entire gain. There has been considerable smuggling in of coolies. Other evasions of the exclusion laws, such as the bringing in of "minor children" by the present residents, have been the subjects of notice in the reports of the Philippine commission. Companies and firms have existed at the principal ports of China for the express purpose of aiding the emigrant to gain a footing on the shores of the Philippine "el dorado" by hook or by crook. Thus, while the government figures place the present number of Chinese residents at 56,000, the consular and other estimates are much higher, ranging up to 62,000. The 1908 report of the Philippine commission admits that the exclusion laws have *not decreased* the

Chinese population, nor even held it stationary. There has probably been some slight decrease, estimated at 3,000, in the city of Manila, but in the provinces the Chinese have much more than doubled their number in the last ten years.

As to the Oriental immigrants other than Chinese, the greatest number since American occupation have been Japanese, the number from Japan increasing steadily each year until 1904, when there were 2,270 arrivals, but since 1905 the number has dwindled to less than 400 annually. The Japanese population is not large and seems to be in no immediate prospect of increasing greatly. They have never been a strong element in the Philippines, even in the long period of Spanish rule. Japan's surplus population is just now expanding in the direction of the mainland, chiefly into Korea and its hinterland. From the Japanese element of the immigration into the Philippines, therefore, the United States and the Philippine government need not expect any serious problem.

Of the other Asiatics all together there have not been more than 300 arrivals in any one year since 1904, and this would bring us to the conclusion that the net number of these immigrants was very small and practically a negligible quantity. Such as this element is, it consists about half of East Indian races and the other half of all the other Oriental races in isolated and scattering numbers.

The foregoing figures show the predominant part which Chinese immigration plays in any consideration of the problems now existing due to the regulation of Oriental immigration into the Philippines. What then are these problems? Briefly stated, they are as follows:

First, the antagonism between the Chinese and the native races, due, in no small degree, to the ability of the Chinese in all the activities of life and his demonstrated superiority in trade. This antagonism has in no measure been lessened by the American administration, under the leadership of which the tendency has been to elevate the standards of living among the natives and thus make their competition with the shrewd Chinese even more strenuous.

Second, the doubtful good which follows the infusion of Chinese blood into the Filipino race. It is realized that the chief trouble makers, politically and socially, come from the ranks of the mestizos.

Third, the lack of a sufficient and an efficient labor supply for the development of the industrial possibilities of the Philippines.

The reality of this problem has been questioned by many employers of Filipino laborers.

Fourth, a constant and a conscious effort to avoid complicating the work of the exclusion laws in the United States, because of the efforts of those who have first gone to the Philippines in trying to come thence into the United States.

Fifth, the problem of the enforcement of exclusion in the Philippines.

In regard to the antagonism between the natives and the alien Orientals there can be no doubt of its existence as an appreciable element in any analysis of Philippine conditions. From the first the slogan has been adopted of "The Philippines for the Filipinos," and this sentiment has found a hearty approval among the native peoples, or at least among those elements of the native population that are capable of understanding the situation. It has ever been considered unwise as a matter of public policy to force an unrestricted immigration upon the Filipinos, whether the exclusion of those alien races which are debarred, especially the Chinese, is justifiable on other grounds or not.

From the point of view of the future of the Filipino people it is a serious question whether or not it would be of benefit to them to lose racial identity in a process of amalgamation that would necessarily follow from the admission of large numbers of Chinese, for example. Few races are as willing to join in a process of amalgamation as is the Chinese. They are remarkably free from the sentiments, pride or prejudice which in many instances thwart amalgamation when two unequal races are thrown constantly together. Many claim that the infusion of Chinese blood into the Filipino races would materially aid and hasten the work of building up the latter into a strong and perhaps more unified people. On the one hand the progressiveness of the mestizo and his abounding energy is contrasted with the lesser ambition of the native. But the answer to this contention cites the appearance of the worst characteristics of both the Filipino and the Chinese races in the half-breed, and the fact that the chief trouble makers in the recent history of the islands have been mestizos. The hope entertained by those opposed to amalgamation is that the number of Chinese now in the islands is proportionately so small that they will ultimately be ab-

sorbed and lost in the native mass without appreciably affecting the racial characteristics of the latter.

The most immediate and pressing effect of the exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese from the Philippines is upon the supply of labor. The natives have had to be taught to work, and although wonderful progress is noted in this regard among the Filipinos, yet there has not been an efficient labor supply proportionate to the demands and opportunities for the speedy opening up of the resources at hand. From all sides have come complaints, from merchants, contractors, manufacturers and from army engineers. The inability to get the coolie, however, has forced the use of the native, the study of his ability and the methods of handling him, and in an increasingly large number of instances with signal success. The dearth of labor supply has not been so much due to the absence of the coolie as to the non-working habits of the Filipinos. There are plenty of the latter to furnish all the labor needed. The exclusion of foreign supplies from the market has forced the solution of the question of native labor, a solution not yet perfected, but withal becoming more and more satisfactory.

One of the most subtle problems which had to be faced in determining upon what basis Oriental immigration into the Philippines would be permitted lay in the effect which such immigration would ultimately have upon the working of the exclusion laws of the United States. Having assumed the government of the Philippines from altruistic and humanitarian motives, publicly proclaimed and many times reiterated, it would be difficult indeed for the United States to apply to the inhabitants of our far eastern dependencies the exclusion laws which applied to other Oriental peoples. An inhabitant of the Philippines, so long as the islands were under our control, could with ill grace be denied the privilege of access to our shores. Many of the Chinese and Japanese in the islands who would otherwise be excluded from the United States might thus secure admission, for Filipino citizenship would be beyond the reach of but few of them. They have often become Filipino citizens. What, then, was to prevent Filipino citizenship from becoming a mere wedge by which large numbers of persons who would otherwise be excluded could enter the United States. This was merely a possibility. The status of the Philippines in relation to the United States had not yet been determined. No one who knows the

lengths to which men have gone in their efforts to evade the present exclusion laws can doubt that the work of regulating immigration might have been greatly complicated through the medium of Filipino citizenship, had it been left accessible to all who desired it. This was a problem which was avoided by extending to the Philippines in September, 1899, the exclusion laws of the United States.

As in every instance where a policy of exclusion is adopted there have arisen in the Philippines serious problems involving the enforcement of the exclusion enactments. In the Philippines the question of enforcement reaches its most acute stage. Not only have the usual methods common to this country been adopted but in addition a system of registration has been superimposed. Every Chinese is required to register with the government, or become liable to deportation, even this has not checked immigration. Until 1907 a common method of evasion was by the bringing in of "minor children" by the registered Chinese of the islands. In that year more rigid interpretations of the statutes were authorized and this practice has been minimized, though not wholly stopped. One of its worst features is that many of those thus entered are sold into a servitude that is not unlike slavery.

Besides this more open defiance of the exclusion laws, there is admittedly considerable smuggling of Chinese into the islands. The exact extent of this practice cannot be determined but it has been important enough to call forth repeated and official recognition of its existence. The smuggling is systematized and until about two years ago the operations in China were carried on with little secrecy. The coast patrol in the Philippines can make such smuggling difficult, but no more. Besides it must be borne in mind that the crews of most of the vessels plying between China and the Philippines are composed of Chinese, at least in part, and that not only these seamen often attempt desertion in order to gain admittance, but they are only too willing to aid a fellow countryman in his efforts to evade the customs officers. For in the Philippines the administration of the exclusion laws is a part of the work of the Bureau of Customs.

Notwithstanding all these evasions of the law the exclusion policy of the United States may be fairly said to be accomplishing the three ends which justify its existence. There is no overwhelming of the Filipino race in its development. There is no diversion

of that development through the modifying influences of a process of amalgamation with other Oriental races, chiefly the Chinese. No new and unrelated element is added to the already heterogeneous Philippine population. At the same time the Filipino is slowly learning to develop the material resources of the land in which he dwells. The United States, in protecting itself against possible evasions of its own exclusion laws by making them applicable to every part of the territory under its control, has fortunately done only what would have been in any case politic and justifiable because of its recognition of Filipino sentiment. Only a policy of exploitation could absolutely disregard the racial instincts of a dependent people. If with all the advantages of western civilization at our command American standards of life are threatened by competition with the Oriental, how much more difficult it would be for the Filipino race, even under our tutelage, to attain to the same standards which we enjoy and to which they aspire, if we forced upon them the very competition which we fear and avoid! Unrestricted immigration into the Philippines might not prove to be an unmixed evil, given certain aims and conditions, but the present exclusion policy has amply justified its existence as an element in an altruistic administration for the benefit of the native population and it should be continued.